

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1503 Respondents
Dates: March 4-8, 1994

47 Male
53 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4046
NBC News/WSJ
March 1994

AR	TYPE	SA	FORM	DAT
[6] [7]]	[8]	[9] [10] [11]]	[12]	March
				[13] [14]]

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	7	[15]
	9	1
Not registered.....	2	
	1	
Not sure.....	-	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>
Right direction..	33	39	<u>35</u>	<u>27</u>	33	27	27	<u>37</u>	43	47	<u>45</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>34</u>

Wrong track.....	47	42	42	54	49	55	56	44	35	27	32	71	48
Mixed (VOL)....	14	13	16	14	12	13	10	11	11	14	11	9	13
Not sure.....	6	6	7	5	6	5	7	8	11	12	12	5	5

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu-tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							
March 1994.....	18	29	19	16	17	1	[17]
January 1994.....	20	35	17	14	14	-	
December 1993.....	22	33	15	15	14	1	
November 1993.....	24	30	14	14	16	2	
October 1993.....	16	30	18	16	19	1	
September 1993.....	18	32	15	17	17	1	
July 1993.....	15	31	17	16	20	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
April 1993.....	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
The United Nations							
March 1994.....	13	35	27	14	7	4	[18]
Al Gore							
March 1994.....	16	28	25	15	11	5	[19]
January 1994.....	17	31	23	13	10	6	
December 1993.....	18	29	25	13	10	5	
November 1993.....	21	31	22	13	11	2	
October 1993.....	14	28	25	13	14	6	
September 1993.....	17	30	24	12	12	5	
March 1993.....	19	28	23	12	9	9	
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1992.....	21	30	21	10	9	9	
Bob Dole							
March 1994.....	12	24	24	15	13	12	[20]
January 1994.....	13	29	21	14	9	14	
October 1993.....	12	26	24	14	10	14	
September 1993.....	13	25	24	14	10	14	
July 1993.....	10	22	25	14	13	16	
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14	
Oliver North							
March 1994.....	10	20	25	17	21	7	[21]
NATO							
March 1994.....	10	30	29	9	5	17	[22]
Q.3. (cont'd)							
	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu-tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	

Hillary Rodham Clinton

	22	25	19	13	20	1	[23]
March 1994.....	22	25	19	13	20	1	[23]
January 1994.....	24	27	15	14	18	2	
December 1993.....	26	27	17	11	17	2	
October 1993.....	22	26	17	14	19	2	
September 1993.....	20	26	21	13	17	3	
July 1993.....	20	30	19	12	17	2	
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4	
April 1993.....	25	28	18	12	14	3	
March 1993.....	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	

(BOTH FORMS.)

4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Approve.....	55	60	56	47	50	45	41	52	57	51	[24]
Disapprove.....	36	31	33	43	39	45	50	34	26	16	
Not sure.....	9	9	11	10	11	10	9	14	17	33	

(FORM A)

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	47	50	48	40	42	40	33	45	52	[25]
Disapprove.....	43	39	39	50	48	51	56	40	28	
Not sure.....	10	11	13	10	10	9	11	15	20	

(FORM A)

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	47	53	45	33	47	50	38	47	47	[26]
Disapprove.....	39	31	40	58	34	36	43	30	22	
Not sure.....	14	16	15	9	19	14	19	23	31	

(FORM B)

4d. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	3/94	1/94	12/93	10/93	9/93	7/93	6/9	1/9	4/92*	10/91	7/91*	10/90
Approve.....	31	33	30	29	24	27	27	27	15	26	28	22
Disapprove.....	58	54	56	60	65	60	61	56	78	62	63	69
Not sure.....	11	13	14	11	11	13	12	17	7	12	9	9

*Asked only of registered

(BOTH FORMS.)

5a. Looking ahead to the next election for president, if Bill Clinton runs for reelection as the Democratic candidate, will you definitely vote for Bill Clinton in that election, probably vote for Bill Clinton, probably vote for the Republican candidate, or definitely vote for the Republican candidate?

	3/94	1/94	12/93	10/93	
Definitely vote for Clinton.....	14	15	18	11	
Probably vote for Clinton.....	24	26	24	25	
Probably vote for the Republican candidate.....	19	17	19	20	
Definitely vote for the Republican candidate.....	17	15	14	19	
Depends (VOL).....	16	18	16	14	
Neither (VOL).....	3	2	2	2	
Ross Perot (VOL).....	-	1	1	2	
Not sure.....	7	6	6	7	

5b. If the 1996 presidential election were held today, and the candidates were **(ROTATE NAMES)** Bob Dole, the Republican, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

	3/94	10/93	
Bob Dole.....	39	45	
Bill Clinton.....	48	45	
Neither (VOL).....	7	NA	
Not sure/refused.....	6	10	

6a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or a not very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	SKIP TO	[30]
	7		
Not strong Democrat.....	1	Q.7a.	
	3		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	1		
	1		
Strictly Independent.....	1		
	8		
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	CONTINU	
	2	E	
Not strong Republican.....	1		
	0		
Strong Republican.....	1		
	2		
Other.....	6		
Refused.....	-		
Don't know/nothing.....	1		

(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS WHO DO NOT LEAN DEMOCRATIC IN Q.6a.)

6b. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 1996 Republican nomination for president. If you were voting today in the 1996 Republican primary for president, which one of the following candidates would you favor? **(READ LIST. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean at this time?

Jack Kemp.....	20	[31]
Pete Wilson.....	2	
Dick Cheney.....	10	
Phil Gramm.....	3	
Bob Dole.....	29	
Dan Quayle.....	8	
Pat Buchanan.....	5	
Someone else (VOL).....	3	
None (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	13	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

7a. Which one of the following six issues do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time? **(READ CHOICES, ROTATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

A) Dealing with international conflicts.....	2	[32]
B) Improving the economy.....	2	
	5	
C) Combating street crime and violence.....	3	
	1	
D) Reforming the welfare system.....	1	
	4	
E) Dealing with the unfair trade practices of foreign countries.....	4	
F) Reforming the health care system.....	1	
	4	

All equally (VOL).....	7
None of these (VOL).....	2
Not sure	1

(FORM B)

7b. Now that the presidency and the Congress are both controlled by the same party, do you think Congress and the president are working well together to end the gridlock in Washington, or do you think things are pretty much as they were before because Congress and the president always have differences?

	<u>3/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
President and Congress are able to work together.....	22	29	22	29	47	61	[33] 1
Things are pretty much as they were before.....	73	67	72	65	47	34	
Not sure.....	5	4	6	6	6	5	

(BOTH FORMS.)

8. Do you believe that President Clinton committed financial wrongdoing in the matter of the Whitewater Development Corporation in Arkansas, or do you believe that the issue is just being used against him for political purposes? If you feel that you do not know enough about the issue to have an opinion, please just say so.

President Clinton committed financial wrongdoing.....	16	[34]
Issue is just being used for political purposes.....	34	
Don't know enough to say.....	41	
Both, Clinton did wrong, <u>and</u> issue is being used for political purposes (VOL)..	4	
Not sure.....	5	

9a. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

9b. Which one of the following do you think would be the most effective in moving the economy in the right direction?

Keeping interest rates low.....	16	[36]
		1
Encouraging people to save more.....	5	
Maintaining stable economic policies.....	14	
Reducing the federal budget deficit.....	23	
Instituting federal programs to create jobs.....	27	
Reducing barriers to international trade..	8	
All equally (VOL).....	3	
None of these (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	3	

9c. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	3/94	1/94	12/93	10/9	9/9	7/93	6/93	4/9	3/9	1/9	12/9	5/9	9/9	
Will get better.....	29	44	43	21	23	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31	[37]
Will get worse.....	16	16	19	27	24	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same.....	52	36	34	50	51	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	3	4	4	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5	

9d. During the next year, do you think inflation will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

Will increase.....	4	[38]
	5	
Will decrease.....	6	
Will stay about the same.....	4	
	6	
Not sure.....	3	

9e. And during the next year, do you think interest rates will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

Will increase.....	6	[39]
	5	
Will decrease.....	5	
Will stay about the same.....	2	
	7	
Not sure.....	3	

10a. Do you think the U.S. is or is not currently in an economic recession?

	<u>3/94</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	<u>1/92*</u>	<u>12/91*</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>12/90*</u>	
Yes, is in a recession.....	51	86	90	88	75	65	[40]
No, is not in a recession.....	42	11	7	9	18	27	
Not sure.....	7	3	3	3	7	8	

* Asked only of registered voters

(FORM A)

10b. Are you postponing any major purchases or travel plans because of concern about how much you will owe in taxes this year? (**IF "ALREADY FILED," ASK:**) Are you postponing any major purchases or travel plans because of how much you owed?

Yes, am postponing.....	2	[41]
	3	
No, am not postponing.....	7	
	5	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM A)

10c. Under the new tax law this year, do you expect to pay more in federal income taxes, less, or about the same in federal income taxes as you did last year? (**IF "ALREADY FILED," ASK:**) Did you pay more, less, or about the same as last year?

More than last year.....	4	[42]
	3	
Less than last year.....	9	
About the same.....	4	
	3	
Not sure.....	5	

(BOTH FORMS)

10d. Do you plan to refinance your home mortgage in the next three months? If you do not now have a mortgage, please just say so.

Yes, plan to refinance.....	8	[43]
No, do not plan to refinance.....	5	
	5	
Do not have a mortgage.....	3	
	5	
New home or first-time mortgage in next three months (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

(FORM B)

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about international trade.

11a. Some people say that some of our country's trading partners have unfair trade policies that make it difficult for American companies to sell products in those countries. For each of the following countries, please tell me if you think it has fair or unfair trade policies toward the United States.

	<u>Fair Trade Policies</u>	<u>Unfair Trade Policies</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
China.....	20	48	32	[44]
Japan.....	11	78	11	[45]
Germany.....	42	16	42	[46]
France.....	37	22	41	[47]
Mexico.....	46	31	23	[48]
Canada.....	72	9	19	[49]

(FORM B)

11b. Which country is more to blame for the U.S. trade deficit with Japan (**ROTATE**)--the United States or Japan?

The U.S.....	35	[50]
Japan.....	49	
Both equally (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	9	

(FORM B)

11c. And which country do you think would be hurt more by a trade war (**ROTATE**)--the United States or Japan?

The U.S.....	45	[51]
Japan.....	45	
Both equally (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	6	

(FORM B)

12a. Now I would like to read you some reasons people have given for our trade deficit with Japan. For each one, please tell how much of a factor you think it is in causing our trade deficit with Japan--a very major factor, a somewhat major factor, a minor factor, or not a factor at all.

(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) How much of a factor do you think (**READ ITEM**) (are/is) in causing our trade deficit with Japan--a very major factor, a somewhat major factor, a minor factor, or not a factor at all?

	<u>Very Major Factor</u>	<u>Somewha t Major Factor</u>	<u>Minor Factor</u>	<u>Not A Facto r At All</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Unfair Japanese trade policies.....	42	40	9	2	7	[52]
Poor quality American products.....	20	33	22	21	4	[53]
The low rate of savings in the U.S.....	22	32	18	18	10	[54]
Cultural differences with Japan.....	21	26	23	23	7	[55]
The Japanese people do not want to buy American products.....	35	26	13	21	5	[56]

(FORM B)

12b. When it comes to economic power, which country is in a stronger position--the U.S. or Japan?

	3/94	12/93	3/91*	1/90*	
The U.S.....	54	47	26	20	
Japan.....	37	44	66	73	
About equal (VOL).....	2	3	3	3	
Not sure.....	7	6	5	4	

[57]

(FORM B)

12c. Which statement comes closer to your view about our trade relationship with Japan? **(ROTATE ORDER.)**

Statement A: Our trade relationship with Japan benefits Americans because competition lowers the price of goods like automobiles and electronics, and provides more choices for American consumers.

Statement B: Our trade relationship with Japan harms Americans by costing jobs in the U.S. because the Japanese do not compete fairly.

Statement A/Trade relationship benefits Americans.....	3	[58]
	2	
Statement B/Trade relationship harms Americans.....	5	
	8	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Both (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM B)

12d. And which of the following statements comes closer to your view about our trade relationship with Japan? **(ROTATE ORDER.)**

Statement A: It is important to stand up to Japanese trade practices, even if it results in a trade war.

Statement B: Our disagreements with Japan over trade are not important enough to risk a trade war.

Statement A/Important to stand up to Japanese.....	6	[59]
	0	
Statement B/Differences are not important enough to risk a trade war.....	3	
	2	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	6	

(FORM A)

12e. Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view on our relationship with China?

Statement A: We should maintain good trade relations with China, despite disagreements we might have with its human rights policies.

OR

Statement B: We should demand that China improve its human rights policies if China wants to continue to enjoy its current trade status with the United States.

	3/94	12/93	
Statement A/Maintain good trade relations.....	31	29	[60]

Statement B/Demand improved human rights policies.....	61	65
Neither (VOL).....	2	2
Not sure.....	6	4

(BOTH FORMS)**Now, some questions on the federal budget deficit.**

13a. Supporters of a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution argue that this amendment is the only way to be sure that the government will not spend more than it takes in, and that it is unfair to pass the debt and the interest on the debt on to future generations. Opponents of the balanced budget amendment argue that this amendment should not be added to the Constitution, and that it would require large tax increases and cuts in Social Security. Who do you agree with more--the supporters or opponents of the balanced budget amendment?

Agree more with supporters.....	51	[61]
Agree more with opponents.....	37	
Not sure.....	12	

13b. If the Constitution is amended to require a balanced federal budget, do you believe that Congress will really balance the federal budget, or not?

	<u>3/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	
Congress will balance budget.....	15	17	
Congress will not balance budget.....	79	77	[62]
Not sure.....	6	6	

(FORM A)

13c. The federal budget deficit in the next year is expected to be one hundred and seventy-six billion dollars, which is down from two hundred and ninety billion dollars three years ago. Do you believe that the budget deficit is going down at an acceptable rate, or do we need to make further spending cuts or tax increases in order to bring the deficit down more quickly?

Deficit is going down at an acceptable rate.....	4	[63]
More cuts or tax increases are needed...	5	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

(BOTH FORMS.)**Now, I would like to turn to the topic of health care.**

14a. Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the medical care and health coverage you and your family receive?

Very satisfied.....	4	[64]
	0	
Somewhat satisfied.....	3	
	1	
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	1	
	2	
Very dissatisfied.....	1	
	6	
Not sure.....	1	

14b. And would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the health care system in the United States?

Very satisfied.....	1	[65]
	1	1
Somewhat satisfied.....	2	
	6	
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	3	
	0	
Very dissatisfied.....	3	
	0	
Not sure.....	3	

14c. From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose President Clinton's health care program?

	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/22/93</u> *	
Favor.....	37	42	47	47	51	[66]
Oppose.....	45	39	32	37	18	
Need to know more (VOL).....	12	12	15	12	17	
Not sure.....	6	7	6	4	14	

15a. How well do you understand the issues being discussed in the debate over health care reform-- very well, somewhat well, not very well, or not at all well?

Very well.....	1	[67]
	9	[1]
Somewhat well.....	5	
	7	
Not very well.....	1	
	9	
Not at all well.....	5	
Not sure.....	-	

(FORM A)

15b. What are the most important things that you would like to see included in any health care reform plan that is passed this year?

(PROBE:) What do you think should be the most important goals of health care reform?

(PROBE:) What do you think should not be included in the health care plan? **[68-71]**

Net Most Important Goals of Health Care Reform	76%	Net What Should Not be Included in the Health Care Plan	26%
Coverage for everybody, universal health coverage	33	No coverage for abortions	7
Lower rates, affordable, a cap on health care costs	18	Against government intervention, government should stay out of it	6
Coverage for the retired, elderly	14	Do not include people in welfare	3
Choose your own doctor, hospital	12	Don't want to pay for other people's insurance	3
Prescription medicine prices to be lowered	4	Small business shouldn't be forced to pay for employees' health care, plan will hurt small business	2

		Don't know; no response	14

(FORM A)

15c. If Congress does not pass a health care reform bill this year, would that be acceptable or unacceptable to you?

Would be acceptable..... 6 **[72]**

	0
Would be unacceptable.....	3
	5
Not sure.....	5

(BOTH FORMS)

15d. Which one of the following comes closest to your belief about the American health care system--the system is in crisis; the system has major problems, but is not in crisis; the system has problems, but they are not major; or the system has no problems?

The system is in crisis.....	2	[73]
	2	
The system has major problems, but is not in crisis.....	5	
	0	
The system has problems, but they are not major.....	2	
	6	
The system has no problems.....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

(FORM A)

15e. Now I would like to read you a list of several sources from which people get information on the issue of health care. For each group I read, please tell me how important the information you get from this source is in making up your mind on the issue of health care.

(READ EACH ITEM) How important is the information you get from this source--very important, fairly important, only somewhat important, or not important? **(ROTATE THE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Importa nt</u>	<u>Fairly Importa nt</u>	<u>Only Somewha t Important</u>	<u>Not Importan t</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Your doctor.....	40	14	23	19	4	[74]
Your local newspaper.....	26	20	35	17	2	[75]
Your employer.....	28	9	20	27	16	[76]
Your congressman.....	26	15	29	26	4	[77]
President Clinton.....	31	15	27	25	2	[78]
Labor unions.....	19	9	21	41	10	[79]

(FORM B)

15f. Let me read you a list of various groups that will try to change or revise the Clinton health care plan. For each one, please tell me whether you feel more confident about this group's ideas and proposals on health care, or more confident about the ideas and proposals of President Clinton.

(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Do you feel more confident about the ideas and proposals on health care devised by **(READ GROUP)**, or more confident about the ideas and proposals of President Clinton? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>More Confident In Alternative</u>	<u>More Confiden t In Clinton</u>	<u>Depends (VOL)</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The American Medical Association.....	41	39	4	16	[80]
Major health insurance companies.....	27	54	3	16	[81]
Hospital groups.....	36	44	5	15	[82]

The National Association of Manufacturers.....	26	41	2	31	[83]
The U.S. Chamber of Commerce.....	29	36	1	34	[84]
Labor unions.....	30	42	3	25	[85]

(BOTH FORMS.)

15g. Who do you trust more on the issue of health care--Republicans or Democrats?

Republicans.....	29	[86]
Democrats.....	40	
Both equally (VOL).....	5	
Neither (VOL).....	18	
Not sure.....	8	

16a. Which one of the following health care plans would you favor more? **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

A congressional plan that is less expensive than the Clinton plan because it relies on competitive buying of insurance and does not require businesses to pay for their employees' coverage, but that might leave more than ten million Americans without coverage.

OR

President Clinton's health care plan, which may cost more than the congressional plan, but provides more benefits and cost controls, requires businesses to pay for their employees' coverage, and guarantees coverage for every American.

	<u>3/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	
		*	
Less expensive congressional plan.....	30	20	[87]
More comprehensive Clinton plan.....	60	69	
Neither (VOL).....	5	6	
Not sure.....	5	5	

Now, I would like to describe some of the different health care plans and get your opinion.**(The Clinton Plan)***

16b. Plan A would guarantee a standard package of health benefits to all American citizens, in which insurance companies would continue to provide health insurance coverage, with some government regulation to keep costs under control and to promote competition, and in which all employers would be required to provide health insurance for their workers, with government subsidies to help small employers. Does this plan have a great deal of appeal to you, some appeal, just a little appeal, or no appeal at all?

A great deal of appeal.....	3	[88]
	2	1
Some appeal.....	4	
	4	
Just a little appeal.....	1	
	1	
No appeal at all.....	1	
	1	
Not sure.....	2	

(The McDermott Plan)*

16c. Plan B would require the government to collect taxes from businesses and individuals and to use the money to repay citizens for most medical expenses and to control the cost of medical services, without the involvement of employers or insurance companies. Does this plan have a great deal of appeal to you, some appeal, just a little appeal, or no appeal at all?

A great deal of appeal.....	7	[89]
	1	
Some appeal.....	2	
	4	
Just a little appeal.....	2	
	1	

No appeal at all.....	4
	7
Not sure.....	1

(The Chafee Plan)*

16d. Plan C would make the government require all individuals to have health insurance--similar to the requirement for all car owners to have auto insurance--and low-income people would receive government financial assistance to help them pay for their coverage. Does this plan have a great deal of appeal to you, some appeal, just a little appeal, or no appeal at all?

A great deal of appeal.....	1	[90]
	5	
Some appeal.....	3	
	3	
Just a little appeal.....	2	
	0	
No appeal at all.....	3	
	1	
Not sure.....	1	

(The Cooper Plan)*

16e. Plan D would require all employers to offer a standard health benefits package without requiring them to pay any part of the costs, would try to control costs by promoting market competition among insurance companies without government price controls, and would not guarantee coverage for every American. Does this plan have a great deal of appeal to you, some appeal, just a little appeal, or no appeal at all?

A great deal of appeal.....	8	[91]
Some appeal.....	2	
	6	
Just a little appeal.....	2	
	2	
No appeal at all.....	4	
	2	
Not sure.....	2	

(The Gramm Plan)*

16f. Plan E would require insurance companies to let people keep their coverage if they switch jobs, give tax breaks to those who buy their own insurance or set aside funds for medical expenses, but the plan would not directly control health care costs or provide coverage for all Americans. Does this plan have a great deal of appeal to you, some appeal, just a little appeal, or no appeal at all?

A great deal of appeal.....	1	[92]
	0	1
Some appeal.....	3	
	2	
Just a little appeal.....	2	
	4	
No appeal at all.....	3	
	2	
Not sure.....	2	

* The plans were not identified by name

17a. Which is the best way to achieve universal health coverage--requiring businesses to pay for their employees' coverage, requiring individuals to purchase their own coverage, or having the government collect the money in the form of taxes?

Requiring businesses to pay for employees' coverage.....	4	[93]
	0	
Requiring individuals to purchase their own coverage.....	2	
	2	
Having the government collect the money in the form of taxes..	1	
	8	
All equally/combination (VOL).....	6	
None (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	7	

17b. Which of the following statements comes closer to your view about government price controls on health care costs? (**READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.**)

Statement A: The government should set controls on what doctors, hospitals, and other health care providers can charge, because this is the only way that spending on health care can be reduced.

OR

Statement B: The government should not set controls on what doctors, hospitals, and other health care providers can charge, because this would interfere with the free market and harm the quality of health care.

Statement A/Government should control prices.....	5	[94]
	8	
Statement B/Government should not control prices....	3	
	4	
Neither (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	4	

17c. Should President Clinton refuse to sign a health care reform bill that would not provide universal health coverage for all Americans?

Yes, he should refuse to sign.....	47	[95]
No, he should not refuse to sign....	43	
Not sure.....	10	

17d. If Congress passes the Clinton health care reform plan, do you think it would be a change for the better in the way you receive health care services, a change for the worse, or do you think it would not change anything in the way you receive health care services?

Change for better.....	2	[96]
	4	
Change for worse.....	2	
	7	
Will not change anything.....	4	
	0	
Will be a change, but neither better nor worse (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	7	

17e. Do you think all employers, regardless of size, should or should not be required to provide health insurance for their employees?

Yes, should be required.....	57	[97]
No, should not be required.....	37	
Not sure.....	6	

Now, a few questions on the issue of smoking.

18a. Do you currently smoke cigarettes? **(IF NO, ASK:)** Have you been a smoker at any time in the past? **(NOTE: CIGAR AND PIPE SMOKERS ARE NOT CONSIDERED SMOKERS.)**

Current smoker.....	25	CONTINUE	[98]
Former smoker.....	29		
Never a smoker.....	46	FORM A: SKIP TO Q.18c.	
Not sure/refused..	-	FORM B: SKIP TO Q.19a.	

(BOTH FORMS--ASK ONLY OF CURRENT SMOKERS IN Q.18a.)

18b. Have you ever tried to quit smoking?

Yes, have tried to quit.....	77	[99]
No, have not tried to quit.....	22	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

(FORM A--ASK EVERYONE.)**(FORM B--ASK ONLY OF CURRENT SMOKERS IN Q.18a.)**

18c. Do you allow smoking in your home?

Yes, allow smoking.....	44	[100]
No, do not allow smoking.....	47	
Not usually/special circumstances (VOL)....	6	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

(FORM A--ASK EVERYONE.)**(FORM B--ASK ONLY OF CURRENT SMOKERS IN Q.18a.)**

18d. Which statement comes closest to your view on the issue of smoking in public places?

Statement A: Smoking should be banned in public places.

Statement B: Restrictions against smoking in public places should be increased, but smoking in public should not be banned entirely.

Statement C: Restrictions on smoking in public places should be kept as they are.

OR

Statement D: There should be fewer restrictions on smoking in public places.

Statement A/Smoking should be banned in public.....	33	[101]
Statement B/Restrictions on smoking in public should be increased.....	33	
Statement C/Restrictions on smoking in public should be kept the same.....	22	
Statement D/Fewer restrictions on smoking in public.....	8	
None/other/in between (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM A--ASK EVERYONE.)**(FORM B--ASK ONLY OF CURRENT SMOKERS IN Q.18a.)**

18e. Do you think that the government is doing enough to reduce smoking in the U.S.?

Government is doing enough.....	4	[102]
Government is not doing enough.....	4	
Government should not be involved in reducing smoking (VOL)...	1	
Not sure.....	9	
	6	

(BOTH FORMS--ASK EVERYONE.)**Now, some questions on foreign policy.**

19a. Do you consider Russia to be an ally of the United States, an adversary, or neither an adversary nor an ally?

	3/94	1/94	4/93	
Consider Russia an ally.....	16	28	26	[103]
Consider Russia an adversary.....	15	10	10	
Consider Russia neither an ally nor an adversary..	61	56	57	
Not sure.....	8	6	7	

(FORM A)

19b. Recently, President Clinton expelled Russia's top intelligence agent from the U.S. after it was discovered that a high-ranking CIA agent had been spying for the Russians. President Clinton decided not to ask for a reduction in American aid to Russia, because this money is being used to promote democracy and to remove Russia's nuclear weapons. Do you favor or oppose continuing to send aid to Russia for these purposes?

Favor continuing aid.....	5	[104]
	4	
Oppose continuing aid.....	3	
	8	
Not sure.....	8	

(BOTH FORMS.)

20a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the situation in Bosnia?

Approve.....	5	[105]
	3	
Disapprove.....	3	
	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	4	

20b. Do you favor or oppose the United States military taking part in an international effort to enforce a peace agreement in Bosnia, including sending American troops as part of a United Nations peacekeeping force on the ground?

Favor.....	5	[106]
	3	
Oppose.....	4	
	0	
Not sure.....	7	

20c. What is your feeling about relations between the United States and Germany in the years since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War--have relations improved, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

Have improved.....	3	[107]
	3	
Have gotten worse.....	5	
Have stayed about the same.....	5	
	2	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

21a. Do you think that in recent weeks, the news media have done a good job of informing the country about the issues that are most important, or do you think the media have focused more on issues that are not very important?

Media have done good job.....	3	[108]
	6	1
Media have focused on unimportant issues.....	5	
Not sure.....	7	

21b. And do you think that the problems of crime and violence have really become worse in the past year, or do you think that there is simply more coverage of crime in the news media?

Crime and violence has really become worse.....	6	[109]
	4	1
There is simply more coverage of crime in the news media	3	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM A)

22a. In general, who do you think is better at making a commitment to a personal relationship--men or women?

Men are better.....	1	[110]
	1	1
Women are better.....	6	
	8	
Both equally (VOL).....	8	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Depends on the individuals (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	5	

(FORM A)

22b. Who do you believe usually tries harder to keep a personal relationship together--men or women?

Men try harder.....	1	[111]
	0	1
Women try harder.....	7	
	2	
Both equally (VOL).....	9	
Neither (VOL).....	-	
Depends on the individuals (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	3	

(FORM A)

22c. Which do you think is more difficult to maintain--a business relationship with a member of the opposite sex, or a romantic relationship?

Business relationship.....	3	[112]
	2	1

Romantic relationship.....	5
Both equally (VOL).....	4
Neither (VOL).....	2
Depends on the individuals (VOL).....	1
Not sure.....	3
	8

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	1	[113]
	8	
Voted for George Bush.....	2	
	9	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	3	
	6	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	1	
Other candidate (VOL).....	1	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	4	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	5	[114]
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	9	
Moderate.....	2	
	4	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	4	
Very conservative.....	1	
	0	
Views cannot be described in those terms.....	1	
	4	
Not sure.....	4	

F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	[115]
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	3	
	1	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	6	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	0	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	8	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	9	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	9	[116]
	0			
25-29.....	1	50-54.....	8	
	1			
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	6	

35-39.....	2	60-64.....	7
	2		
40-44.....	9	65 and over.....	15
		Refused.....	1

F5. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

Single	2	[117]
..	3	
Married.....	5	
.	9	
Separated	2	
.		
Divorced	8	
.		
Widowed	7	
.		
Not sure/refused	1	

F6. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

Professional/manager.....	2	[118]
White collar worker.....	4	
.	1	
Blue collar worker.....	9	
.	2	
Farmer.....	2	
Student.....	1	
Homemaker.....	4	
Retired.....	7	
.	1	
Unemployed.....	8	
Never worked/not sure.....	3	
	2	

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN.)

F7. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	3	[119]
	0	
Do not work outside the home.....	2	
	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F8a. Now I'd like to find out about your current health care coverage situation. Are you presently covered or not covered by health insurance? (**IF "COVERED," ASK:**) And is everyone in your immediate family living with you also covered by health insurance?

Covered By Health Insurance		CONTINUE	[120]
Respondent and everyone in immediate family.....	80		
Respondent, but not everyone in family.....	6		
Respondent, but not sure about family.....	1		
Not Covered By Health Insurance	12	SKIP TO Q.F9.	
Not Sure/Refused	1		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY COVERED BY HEALTH INSURANCE IN Q.F8a.)

F8b. Which one of the following statements best describes how your health insurance is paid for?
(READ CHOICES.)

You or a family member pays the full cost.....	1	[121]
	7	
You or a family member pays part, and an employer pays part.....	4	
	8	
An employer pays the full cost.....	1	
	6	
The government pays through Medicare or Medicaid.....	1	
	1	
Combination (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	1	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY COVERED BY HEALTH INSURANCE IN Q.F8a.)

F8c. Is your health insurance provided by an HMO, that is, a health maintenance organization?

Provided by an HMO.....	3	[122]
	5	
Not provided by an HMO.....	5	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F9. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	[123]
	2	
Catholic.....	3	
	1	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	9	
None.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F10. How would you describe the area in which you live--a large city, a medium to small city, a suburb near a city, a small town that is not near a city, or a rural or country area?

Large city.....	2	[124]
	2	
Medium to small city.....	2	
	7	
Suburb near a city.....	2	
	1	
Small town that is not near a city....	1	
	5	
Rural or country area.....	1	
	3	
Not sure.....	2	

F11. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	79	[125]
Black.....	10	
Hispanic.....	6	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F12. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	8	[126]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	3	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	0	
Not sure/refused.....	7	